Instructions received from J.C.Rider, Acting Agent in Charge.

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
Pittsburgh, Pa.	Sept.26,'22	Sept.23,'22	H.J.LENON.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

I.W.W. PROPOSED CONVENTION,
JOHN GRADY, Sec'y-Treas. Chicago, Ill.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
SEP 29 1922
DIVISION

FACTS DEVELOPED:

AT PITTSBURGH, PA.

The following report was received from a local operative:-

"Plans are being made to hold a general convention of the I.W.W. in Chicago sometime in November, but no definite date has been set.

It is hoped that the I.W.W. will be brought together by this convention. John Grady, the general secretary-treasurer, has expressed himself as being alarmed because so many members have left the ranks of the I.W.W. during the past year, and denounced the Temporary Committee for Working Class Unity as the cause of the weakened condition of the organization."

61-1225-20

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/26/12 BY Spubsibsey

REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Mr.Hoover-2	

LEO

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
Seattle, Wash	Sept.22,'22	Sept.22,'22	R. E. Skelly 1432

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

O I. W. W. ACTIVITIES - General

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
SEP 30 1922
DIVISION

FACTS DEVELOPED:

File #15942-300-L 61-12

AT SEATTLE, WASHINGTON:

Through a strictly confidential source Agent was able to obtain copy of a letter written to THOMAS WHITEHEAD, secretary of the local branch of the I.W.W., dated September 1, 1922, at Berlin, Germany, attached to which is a circular letter entitled: "AN APPEAL TO THE RANK AND FILE OF THE I.W.W." This circular letter is issued by the General Secretary of the Red International Labor Union, A. LOSOWSKY, and is an appeal to the I. W. W. to become better acquainted with the RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOUR UNIONS.

Attached to the Bureau copies of this report and for the offices indicated, are copies of this letter and circular.

Investigation continued.

21

DATE 10/22/82

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

FILE NO. 61-1225-24

RECORDED

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ROUTED TO: FILE

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: San Francisco; Los Angeles; New York; Butte; Chicago; St. Paul

No 8 Am Pr[illegible]z[illegible]lauer Berg
Berlin Ge[illegible]hy
Sept. 1, 1[illegible]22

Thomas Whitehead
Secretary of I.W.W.
Seattle, Washington
U.S.A.

Fellow Worker:-

Find enclosed a copy of a letter that has been forwarded to the General Executive Board of your organization. It will need more elaboration on our part. The document will speak for itself.

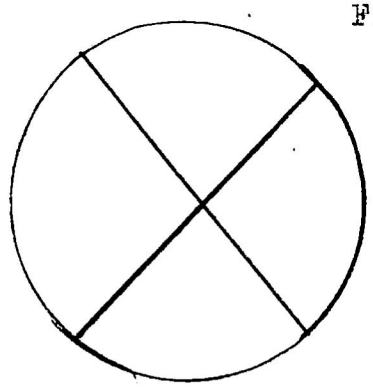
We wish you to bring this to the attention of the membership at their regular meeting and have them become more acquainted with the Red International of Labour Unions.

Trusting that you will carry out our wishes we remain

With best wishes

Fraternally yours

(Signed)-----
Secretary



Seal

Seal stamped in four languages and reading "Central Europe Bureau of Red International of Labour Unions

AN APPE[illegible]O THE RANK AND FILE OF [illegible] I.W.W.

Fellow Workers:--

The Executive Committee of the Red International of Labour Unions has watched with deep interest and with equal regret the official attitude of the Industrial Workers of the World. It has not been an inspiring effort on the part of your officials, neither has it been an attempt to maintain your former position in the labour movement. Quite the contrary , it has discredited the record and rendered temporarily fruitless the work of your valiant members who are now confined in prison cells. Among them are men who laid the foundation for your organization and who now adhere to the Red International of Labour Unions.

The Williams Report

We have searched in vain for one correct statement in the report of Joe Williams on the Red International of Labour Union-Congress. It is so full of lies that a complete reply to it would be useless For those, however, who have no chance to hear both sides, we wish to say a few words. Williams asserts that we intend to force our theories and methods upon the American masses. Nothing of the kind. We have no intention of establishing universal uniformity among the trade unions. We understand very well that methods and measures are determined by social and economic circumstances, obtaining in each country; By the relation of class power, by the strength and organization of the working class. Make the revolution by the aid of any methods you choose. The only thing the R.I.L.U. demands is that the workers do not mistake resolution for revolution.

Williams talks a good deal about communist domination, about control by the Third International. There is in this as in everything else he states, inextricable confusion. It is only a question of exchanging delegates three from each Executive. Experience has shown us at least on the continent of Europe, that we cannot have two opinions during a revolutionary crisis, one for the economic and another for the political movement. Neither dan you in America. During any large strike, you always witness the Government coming to the aid of the employers. This is a true indication of what is to happen in future upheavals, bordering upon revolution. Contact with the Third International is not domination; it is mutual co-operation.

No Degree of Difference.

Fellow Workers:-

We state our view honestly and clearly. There are many ways of doing things. The International Federation of Trade Unions otherwise called Amsterdam International, claims complete political neutrality and admits of no contact with any political party. But what are the facts? Most of the officials are Executive members of the Second International of pro-war fame, - or of its subordinate bodies. And they use their power to support bourgeios imperialism which is now causing the premature death of thousands of workers.

With few exceptions, the attitude of your officials shows little difference from the attitude of the Amsterdam officials and of Samuel Gompers. Gompers maintains an attitude of political neutrality, being at the same time a member of the Democratic Party. Your officials deny the importance of political activity, while your organization is doing political work all along, trying to exert social pressure on the capitalist courts, on the President of the Federal Government, on various States Governments, etc. In this work of using the political State machinery in your own interest, you are perfectly right provided you see its propaganda value; This is why we too, want a united, political, and economic front, contact with the workers political organization, the Workers' party of America, in order to rebuke President Harding, and to force him to listen to the appeals for the relief of class-war prisoners. We repeat, the difference between your officials and the Amsterdamers, is very slight, Your officials, tho' moved by a different motive, have the same degrading influence upon your organization. The revolutionary class consciousness of the I.W.W. members must be the redeeming element.

The Syndicalist International

It should be noted that the Syndicalists are very much divided today. Many are active workers for the R.I.L.U., and the larges syndicalist unions in Europe are not agreed upon a purely syndicalist, international, which they feel would be doomed to failure because of a strong, favourable adherence to the R.I.L.U. How little weight is to be attached to the report of Williams will be evident from the case of Cascaden on whom Williams draws for information. Cascaden came to the Congress supposedly representing 13,000 Canadian lumber workers(page 34) Their E.C. informed our Bureau since that Cascaden was not accredited delegate to the R.I.L.U.-Congress. The lumber workers have already become affiliated to the R.I.L.U. The German Seamen's Union is now also affiliated to the R.I.L.U. Finally one of the biggest syndicalist organizations, the French United Federation of Labour has recently joined the R.I.L.U.

We waited for the much advertised Syndicalist Congress held in Berlin to be able to speak with authority; Not that we did not know it would fail as it did, but to have an additional proof that most syndicalist elements are not in aggreement. The Congress was adjourned because of the serious divisions in the Syndicalist ranks caused by the strong adherence to the R.I.L.U. We have no fear of such an "International", it may onlysabotage temporarily the solidarity which we aim to establish.

Members of the I.W.W. Attention!!

We ask the unbiased members of the I.W.W. to read pages 45-46 of the Williams report, where our aims are stated. Then to become acquainted with what is said by our adherents on the methods of our organization. Williams says:"We don't want to leave anything to immagination on this point" We reply that this is lying by inference. At the 1st Congress of the R.I.L.U. industrial unionism was advanced as the basis form of labour organizations. Williams knows it perfectly well. We only ask that the I.W.W. avoid the splitting of other organizations where they are well established by starting a parallell organization of its own; that it confine itself to industries where it is already dominant and that it co-operate with other revolutionary bodies

towards the building of a united front against one of its most bloodthirsty opponents - American capitalism.

We call your special attention to Page 59, where the report of your General Executive Board appears. There is a paragraph that must disgust every honest worker. How can you stand by apathetically and allow this to pass without protest? The paragraph referred to discourages the raising of funds for the starving Russian children. So far as we know, no other labour organization did this. The insinuation that the funds were used for communist propaganda does not lessen the enormity of the act. Members of the I.W.W. keep an eye on your officials, they are going your the rank and file, serious and irreparable damage.

We have watched your press as closely as we watch the capitalist press and we must say that your official organs are much worse than those of the capitalist class. That is especially true of the New York and Chicago publications which have repeatedly attacked the R.I.L.U. the Communist International, Soviet Russia, and everything connected with the Russian proletarian State. All this without the slightest acquaintance, either with Russia or with the international labour movement.

Your press abounds with anarchist praseology, with calumny and insinuation against the first proletarian State in the world. Your official organ "Solidarity" wrote with malicious joy, that the Genoa Conference came to nothing and that Soviet Russia was ready to sacrifice to the capitalists of Europe and America, all the gains of the Revolution. This is a most impudent lie. We have already passed the Genoa Conference, we have passed the Hague Conference, and the workers of all countries had the chance of being convinced that the Soviet Republic did not retreat ax single inch from its principles, did not sacrifice one iota of the gains wrested by the revolution from the expropriated private property. You cannot accuse the Russian workers of betrayal. while the entire globe is still in the hands of capitalists, no more than you could accuse one American union of its incapacity to vanquish single handed the American capitalist class. All the enemies of Soviet Russia, all the opponents of the R.I.L.U., are in the same camp with the yellow Amsterdam International, with the American Federation of labour, with the French General Federation of Labour, with the Social-Democrats of Germany, of Central Europe, and with the British Labour Party. All these organizations have been condemned by you as counter-revolutionary, but you have forgotten your officials who are essentially of the same calibre.

Dictatorship is Inevitable

The members of the I.W.W. must break with these dilutors of the revolutionary spirit, while it is now too late. You took shall have decided the question of proletarian dicatorship. Remember that the Soviets of Workers' Deputies could not call any conferences, could not determine their own policies, had they not previously established their proletarian dictatorship. Capitalism would have long since re-established private property with all the consequences flowing therefrom. If the I.W. W. is to be a real factor in the labour movement, it must change its attitude towards other labour unions. It must agree upon uniting, with the Lumber Workers Industrial Union of Canada, This organization deserves more attention than has been given to it by the

by the officials of I.W.W. who did not think it even necessary to give a proper reply to all the appeals addressed by the Canadian Union. You must come in contact, with other independent unions, and the various revolutionary minorities in the American Federation of Labour, In everything they do your leaders are not different from the Amsterdamers.

Unity Before Everything Else.

The world war, The Russian Revolution and its repercussions, the present European crisis and the agitation among the diplomats of all countires, proves that there is a close relation between the separate parts of the globe. How do the officials of the I.W.W. expect to make progress if they refuse to establish contact with the wide labouring masses. When the masters quarrel among themselves it is only forth division of spoils; when it comes to oppose the working class they all stand united. It is this very fact which creates the necessity for the United proletarian front. The R. I. L.U. in Moscow is indefatiguably working for the realization of this task . A fierce battle between capital and labour is going on everythwere. The old world iw in its last agonies. Crisis, unemployment, lack of raw material, depreciation of currency, all that is witness to the irreparable decomposition.of the capitalist system. The capitalists of the entire world expect to find their salvation in the physical struggle against the working class, that is why we notice everywhere the same methods; reduction of wages, abolition of protective labout legislation, lengthening of working hours, etc. Comrades of theI. W.W., a situation is being created that might have a deciding influence upon the fate of all of you . You might be called to revolutionary action sooner than you think. Comrades, will you allow your officials to continued their insidious activitiy, and to accomplish the entire destruction of labour solidarity?

In America, more than in any country, the workers should realize the necessity of the united labour front. Can you not see that the railroad workers are at the same time slaves of the oil trusts and the steel trusts; that a bank employe or a worker in the restaurant is working day and night to swell the fortunes of some local trust; that the employees in public service institutions, are working for Rockefeller and Morgan? These facts ought to convince you of the necessity of immediate unity, in order to start a successful campaign for revolutionary the masses within and without the American Federation of Labour. Can you not see that the organization of a union parallel with the union of the striking miners does not add to the success of the miners? The same may be said as regards the railroad workers, workers, the building trades, printers, tailors, etc., etc.

The R.I.L.U. has decided to invite you for the Second Congress in spite of the attitude of your officials. We ask you to study with attention and to discuss thoroughly the programme of the R.I.L.U., and to demand from your officials that they give more space to the question on the columns of your newspapers and magaines. The E. C. of the R.I.L.U. is convinced that if you were well informed you would not allow your officials to continue their harmful activity. We, therefore, appeal to all class conscious members of the rank and file of the I.W.W. We are certain, that when you will learn our true aims you willbe convinced that our essential aim is the destruction of the capitalist order as the best means of emancipating the working class. WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.Members of the I.W.W. Take your destiny into your own hands Join the organized ranks of the Red International of Labour unions

GENERAL SECRETARY DER R.G.I. A LOSOWSKY